

Section II – Life on the South Dakota Plains: Before, During, and After Minuteman

Chapter 1: Life and Landscape Before Minuteman (to the 1960s)

The Minuteman changed the northern plains, but clearly the missile system was one small moment in the region's far broader history. It is a land rich in geological, archeological, and sociological detail, with stories that range as far back as prehistory. In order to place the relatively short life span of the Minuteman (less than two generations) into the story of a land whose past is best measured in millennium, we now turn to the plains in the time before the Cold War.

South Dakota Plains Geological Formations

South Dakota lies within the boundaries of the Missouri Plateau, a continental landform that displays a variety of geological features, including three main geologic divisions. The first division, the Central Lowlands, lies east of the Missouri River and was formed through glacial activity between ten thousand to seventy-five thousand years ago. The second division extends west from the Missouri River and is known as the Western Plains. The Western Plains of South Dakota are part of the Great Plains and are the least populous section of the state. Landforms in the Great Plains are unglaciated and retain soils formed by shallow seas that covered the region approximately seventy-five million years ago. The state's third major geologic region, known as the Black Hills, was formed by pressure from the earth's tectonic plates that forced subsurface rock upward to create a sixty-mile-wide and 125-mile-long region known for its natural beauty.ⁱ

The seas that once covered South Dakota's Western Plains deposited limestone and sandstone overlain by soft Pierre shale. As the shale eroded through water and wind action, the rolling terrain in the Western Plains emerged, leaving short-grass plains mixed with eroded river valleys. The Badlands lie within the Great Plains. The striking landscape of the Badlands emerged from the process of erosion caused by water and wind, which created tall spires of sedimentary rock and exposed rich fossil deposits. Native Americans and white settlers alike viewed the landscape with respect and awe. In 1939 President Roosevelt established the Badlands National Monument and in the 1960s Congress expanded the monument by adding more than 130,000 acres of Oglala Sioux tribal land. The National Park Service and the Oglala Sioux jointly manage these lands. In 1978 Congress designated the Badlands a National Park, further safeguarding the region's future.ⁱⁱ

Native American Settlement

The presence of Native American cultures in South Dakota spans thousands of years and includes five major periods-Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, Plains Village, and the plains Sioux.ⁱⁱⁱ The Western

Plains has experienced continuous occupation by native people who were removed to reservations through either treaty or the series of nineteenth-century wars fought between the Sioux and the United States Army.

These Native American cultures adapted to the changing environmental and political factors at work in the region. Environmental factors influencing native cultures included the availability and size of animals for use as a food source and the availability of technologies for utilizing natural resources. Political factors directing cultural change included intertribal warfare and the arrival of, and ensuing population pressure from, Euro-Americans. Euro-Americans brought with them foreign political, agricultural, and property systems, as well as diseases that changed the power structure in the region.

The earliest people to reside in the area that later became South Dakota, the Paleo-Indians, practiced nomadic big game hunting, taking advantage of plentiful large game, such as Mastodons. Archaic period hunter-gatherers established themselves after the big game had disappeared. This group took advantage of available smaller game and the nuts and berries that grew wild in the area. As the Woodland tradition developed, a settled agricultural economy complete with a complex agricultural tool kit and a sophisticated religion blossomed. The Plains Village communities, typified by the fortified settlements of the Arikara, or Ree, tribe were present when the first white explorers arrived in South Dakota. The Arikara tribe established a dominant culture during the sixteenth century. Decimated by smallpox brought by the Europeans, the Arikara had entered a state of decline by the time the Sioux began arriving in the area in the eighteenth century.^{iv}

When the early French, Spanish, and Euro-American explorers arrived in the region in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, they initially encountered the Sioux, as well as remnants of the Arikara. The Sioux were a confederation of nomadic tribes, whose culture centered on the bison, which the tribe followed across the plains. The Teton Sioux, who controlled the western part of the state, were known as fierce warriors and expert horsemen, thus giving the Sioux their warrior-nomad reputation. Other branches of the Sioux, such as the eastern, Yankton tribe, did not participate in warfare to the same extent.

Starting in the 1850s, the Sioux began to feel pressure from the United States government to cede their land so that the area could be opened to Euro-American settlement. Conflict and treaties between the Sioux and the federal government continued through the second half of the century. Treaties negotiated in 1851, 1858, and 1868 reserved western South Dakota, known as the Great Sioux Reservation, for the Sioux and in return the tribe left their lands east of the Missouri River.

These early agreements did not end the conflict between the settlers and the Sioux, however. Additional agreements would be necessary as Euro-Americans pressed further west. Increasing demands for land from white settlers and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 resulted in mounting encroachments into Sioux territory. As land-hungry settlers continued to arrive in increasing numbers, the government persisted in pushing the Sioux out of sections of the

Western Plains and the Black Hills until finally the majority of South Dakota's lands were under the control of either homesteaders, miners, or the government. Sioux lands remaining in South Dakota are presently on eight reservations: Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Pine Ridge Oglala, Rosebud, Sisseton-Wahpeton, Yankton, and Flandreau Santee.^v The Air Force made a conscious effort to avoid reservation lands when constructing Minuteman sites.^{vi} Minuteman installations in South Dakota are bordered by the Cheyenne River reservation on the north, Pine Ridge Oglala and Rosebud on the south, and Lower Brule on the east.

To understand the forces acting on the Sioux during the nineteenth century into the middle of the twentieth century, it is necessary to trace the history of European and Euro-American exploration and settlement of South Dakota. The following section summarizes the settlement of South Dakota by Euro-Americans.

Early European Exploration and the Fur Trade

Three major expeditions through the lands that would include the future state of South Dakota paved the way for occupation by Euro-American settlers. France and Spain, which both laid claim to the territory prior to the United States purchase of the land in 1803, sent representatives to the area in search of a mythical western sea and to identify ways to exploit the area's lucrative fur trade. After the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark expedition followed in 1804-1806. Lewis and Clark spent fifty-four days in what would become South Dakota in the fall of 1804 recording information on the region's natural environment and its inhabitants. Following the successful return of their expedition in 1806, fur traders increased their activities in South Dakota, beginning fifty years of intensive harvesting of beaver and bison pelts for market.^{vii}

The period between 1827 and 1840 saw the most intense fur-trading activity in South Dakota. By the beginning of the 1850s, changes in current fashions reduced the demand for furs, and the industry consequently declined. The edge of Euro-American settlement simultaneously moved west towards the Missouri River, leading the federal government to further pressure the indigenous Sioux population to cede lands west of the Missouri to the settlers.^{viii}

Euro-American Land Speculation, Settlement, and Immigration

Settlement of the area increased after the federal government established the military post at Fort Randall on the upper Missouri River in 1856. Threats from Teton Sioux who were responding to encroachments on their native land to travelers on the Oregon Trail prompted a government decision to send troops to the area. General William Harney led a force of approximately one thousand soldiers to the territory with orders to address the issue in western South Dakota territory. During this time, the government began negotiations with the Yankton Sioux for the territory between the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers. The Yankton Sioux eventually agreed to leave this area in 1858 and move to a reservation, marking the formal beginning of white settlement of South Dakota.^{ix}

Congress established the Dakota territorial government in 1861, encompassing the future states of North and South Dakota. The Civil War, harsh climate, and troubled negotiations with the local Sioux populations hindered settlement until the 1870s, however. In 1860, for example, just 500 settlers had made the southeastern section of the territory their home. By the 1870s conditions had improved—the war had ended, the drought and grasshopper invasion had ceased to threaten crops, the Sioux had been confined to reservations, and the railroads had arrived.^x

The Homestead Act of 1862 and completion of the Dakota Southern Railroad between Sioux City, Iowa, and Yankton, South Dakota, in 1873 played a major role in encouraging the region's settlement. Eager to boost immigration to the region, the railroads distributed pamphlets that promoted South Dakota's agricultural promise and favorable climate. Though not always accurate, these pamphlets encouraged thousands to move, and the increased rate of settlement is reflected in U.S. census data, which records ten thousand settlers in South Dakota by 1870.^{xi} Early settlers were primarily of Norwegian, Irish, Swedish, Dutch, Danish, and British descent. Between 1869 and 1874, Czechs and German-Soviets, as well as Hutterite, Mennonite, and eastern European Jewish religious groups, immigrated to the territory and established communities.^{xii}

Euro-American settlement of the South Dakota Territory stalled during the financial panic that gripped the nation from 1873 to 1877. A shaky economy, highlighted by the 1873 stock market crash, combined with a resurgence of the grasshopper plague, effectively halted large-scale settlement until 1878.^{xiii}

The Black Hills gold rush provided the only source of continued settlement activity during this period. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills during the summer of 1874 created enormous pressure from settlers to gain entry to the Black Hills, which were still held by the Sioux. Prospectors could not be deterred from entering the area surreptitiously, and the United States government found itself forced to begin negotiations with the Sioux for access to the area. The rush peaked in 1877, and in the same year the government ratified a treaty with the Sioux that ceded the Black Hills west of the 103rd meridian and additional lands formed by the forks of the Cheyenne River. The Sioux also granted right-of-way for three wagon trails in the Black Hills.^{xiv} To date this treaty remains controversial in the region.

The Black Hills gold rush resulted in the beginning of Euro-American settlement in the western portion of South Dakota. Rapid City was established in 1874 and quickly became the "eastern gateway" to the Black Hills region. Other communities such as Deadwood and Lead also developed during this period. New civil divisions developed after the ratification of the treaty with the Sioux in 1877, including Custer, Lawrence, and Pennington Counties. Almost a century later, Pennington County would become the home of several Minuteman installations, including the Delta-09 Launch Facility (LF).

Western South Dakota's gold rush began to wane in 1877 as surface gold deposits became exhausted. Homesteaders would not arrive on South Dakota's Western Plains in large numbers again until the 1890s.^{xv} However, settlement in the eastern section of the state began to

increase rapidly. The Great Dakota Boom saw the influx of thousands of new settlers. The population in the eastern half of the state more than tripled between 1880 and 1885, rising from eighty-two thousand to two hundred and forty-nine thousand.^{xvi} By 1889 South Dakota gained recognition as a state.

Western Plains Settlement and Agricultural History

The settlement of South Dakota's Western Plains is inextricably tied to agriculture. Early agricultural history of the region focused on raising livestock and ranching. Pennington County, created in 1877 during the Black Hills gold rush, and Jackson County, established in 1883, are located in what developed as prime ranching territory starting in the 1880s and in what became missile country during the twentieth century. Ranchers began driving their Texas Longhorns through the Black Hills as soon as the treaty with the Sioux opening this area was finalized. Large open range ranching operations dominated the landscape prior to the mid-1880s.^{xvii} During this period, ranchers, often financed with out-of-state capital, found tracts of unfenced, unsettled land that could support large operations. By 1884 between seven hundred thousand and eight hundred thousand cattle roamed South Dakota's Western Plains, most of which were destined for markets in the East.^{xviii}

The environmental and political forces at work in the late 1880s resulted in a shift to moderate and small-scale livestock production.^{xix} The climate on the Western Plains left large open range ranching operations susceptible to severe weather patterns. For example, the winter of 1886-1887 brought devastating storms that decimated the cattle herds and put many of the large ranches out of business. Homesteaders also pressured the ranchers by erecting fences around their claims. The new fences impeded ranching operations, which depended on large tracts of open range to feed their cattle. This issue caused strained relations between the homesteaders and the ranchers and further complicated the ranchers' situation as they tried to recover from heavy livestock losses.

Additionally, as homesteaders arrived in greater numbers, the large ranchers found themselves increasingly out of favor politically, as public opinion tended to favor the permanent settlement that came with homesteading. By this time the surviving large ranches had been relegated to leasing lands from Native American reservations that had not yet been opened for settlement. The 1890s saw a boom in the smaller ranching outfits and these outfits joined the growing number of homesteaders seeking success on South Dakota's Western Plains.

By the turn of the twentieth century, settlers were distributed across the state. From the end of the nineteenth century to 1915, the state experienced the second Dakota Boom, which focused on the Western Plains area. Several factors helped to spark the renewed interest in settlement. The opening of additional Native American lands for settlement starting in the 1890s drew homesteaders to the Western Plains. The opening of these lands also sounded the death knell of the large range cattle operations, as the reservation lands formed the last stretch of open land in western South Dakota.^{xx} The government

distributed lands on the newly opened reservations through a two-pronged system. Sections were either distributed among potential claimants through a lottery system or, in the case of Pennington County, through the more traditional route of the claims office. The claims office processed applications by homesteaders desiring to settle sections of land and attempted to impose some order on the homesteaders rush for land.^{xxi}

The completion of the Chicago and Northwestern and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroads west of the Missouri River in the first decade of the twentieth century opened the area for further settlement. The railroads facilitated trade and brought a wave of new settlers. Towns appeared along the rail lines almost overnight, as prospective homesteaders made their way west. Rail connections linked Pierre and Chamberlain on the Missouri River with Rapid City and Lemmon with Mobridge in the northwest by 1907.

Located in Pennington County, Wall was one of the towns that appeared along the route of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. Established in 1907, Wall received its name from the eight-mile-long outcropping that forms the Badlands, commonly referred to as "the wall" by cattlemen.^{xxii} Wall would later become famous as the home of the tourist mecca Wall Drug. It is the closest community to the 66th Strategic Missile Squadron that included Delta-01 and Delta-09.

The second boom was also largely motivated by proponents of the dry-farming movement who asserted that the western South Dakota plains could be successfully farmed with drought-resistant plants using new techniques, including deep plowing and cultivating fallow. Availability of water in an area that receives less than nineteen inches of rainfall every year had been the most persistent concern for homesteaders in this region. Proponents of dry farming hoped to improve the area's agricultural economy and encourage a more permanent, stable settlement than the ephemeral ranching that previously dominated the region. Followers of the movement came to western South Dakota to practice the new farming method, but because dry farming is a labor-intensive method, they faced more difficulties than they had anticipated.^{xxiii}

Starting in 1907 the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducted a series of farming experiments designed to improve agriculture in western South Dakota. The beginning of the program focused on testing dry-farming techniques in semi-arid climates. In 1912 the USDA's Newell Station began receiving water from the Belle Fourche Irrigation Project. The USDA investigated the merits of irrigation in the region to determine which type of agriculture was best suited for the region.^{xxiv} Their irrigation and dry-farming experiments established that dry farming was preferable to irrigation in western South Dakota, largely because irrigation could not be counted on to save crops in times of severe drought. In addition to the comparative study of dry farming versus irrigation, data was collected to determine which trees might produce the best shelterbelts; the best crop rotation and tilling methods; methods of cultivation to reduce erosion; which fertilizers were most effective; and successful livestock raising techniques.^{xxv}

Although the studies conducted by the USDA showed that dry farming held the promise to improve agriculture west of the Missouri River, most farmers did not adopt the labor-intensive, dry-farming system. A growing number of homesteaders on the Western Plains turned instead to cattle, sheep, or horse ranching in combination with a system of diversified farming.^{xxvi}

The challenge of homesteading on the Western Plains of South Dakota extended beyond the normal concern about availability of water. The regularity with which droughts and severe weather affected the ability of homesteaders to produce even a subsistence crop caused many farms to fail, and homesteaders to permanently leave the area. The drought of 1910-1911 stopped the early twentieth-century homesteading boom. Homesteaders were hit hard as crops failed when the rains did not come. Those who survived the drought resigned themselves to the wild variations in climate that was simply a fact of life on the western South Dakota plains.^{xxvii}

Drought prompted many farmers across the state to attempt to further diversify their production. In particular, dairy farming became important to the homesteaders, and cooperative creameries were established, extending as far west as Rapid City. The government aided in educating farmers about drought-resistant crops and diversified agriculture by creating the South Dakota Agricultural Extension Service in 1915. In 1917 the state legislature provided further aid to farmers. For example, it passed a rural credit law authorizing the state to provide loans to farmers and created a state office to promote the state's agricultural products.^{xxviii}

World War I fostered a bubble in agricultural prices as demand for food in the European markets increased. Livestock producers in western South Dakota reaped huge profits as meat and grain prices tripled. However, the boom was followed by an equally dramatic bust as farm prices dipped after the end of the war, creating a depression in western South Dakota's farm economy during the 1920s. Indeed, it has often been said that the Great Depression of the 1930s in fact began a decade earlier for the country's farmers and ranchers.

Also during the 1920s, a myriad of technological advances offered the homesteader the ability to cultivate larger tracts of land in less time than had previously been possible. Tractors and combines increased the number of acres any one farmer could cultivate and had the unintended effect of encouraging farmers to bring marginal lands under cultivation. Consolidation of lands also reduced the number of homesteads on the Western Plains.^{xxix} The 1930s saw the official end to the homesteading period. With the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, which regulated grazing on public lands through a permitting process, the homestead era had ended.

Wall Drug continued to provide economic activity in the Western Plains town of Wall during the Depression. Ted Hustead purchased the store in 1931, and moved his wife, Dorothy, and son, Bill, from Sioux Falls, Iowa, to Wall. Typical for the Depression, the store had difficulty bringing in customers. Although tourists drove by on their way to Mount Rushmore and Yellowstone, they did not normally stop at Wall Drug until Dorothy Hustead had an idea. Dorothy suggested giving away free ice water and putting signs on the tourist routes advertising the

water. The strategy worked brilliantly, and soon tourists were stopping for water and purchasing other items while at the store. By the time Bill Hustead took over management of the store in 1951, Wall Drug had become a success. The Husteads expanded the store over a period of forty years, beginning in 1951, to better serve the growing number of tourists that arrived daily. Roadside advertising on a worldwide scale has further raised the profile of Wall Drug. Today, in the opinion of Ted Hustead, Ted and Dorothy's grandson, Wall Drug "is probably the number one roadside attraction in America."^{xxx}

The success of businesses like Wall Drug stands in stark contrast to the hardships experienced by many, if not most, homesteaders on the Western Plains. Farmers on South Dakota's Western Plains were already reeling from the effects of the drop in prices after the close of World War I when the Depression and the six-year drought, known as the Dust Bowl, hit the plains. The effect of the drought cannot be overestimated. A single storm in May 1934 removed approximately three hundred thousand tons of topsoil from the Great Plains.^{xxxi}

Beginning in 1933, the Roosevelt administration and Congress approved several measures to alleviate hardship on the country's farmers. The Resettlement Administration, which became known as the Land Use Program, was established in 1935 to oversee the reclamation of marginal farmland. The program affected South Dakota's Western Plains significantly. The government purchased 850,000 acres of marginal lands from homesteads in the Western Plains of South Dakota. The government then tore down the homestead buildings and reseeded the land with native grasses. In 1954 the National Grasslands were created out of South Dakota's reclaimed agricultural land at Buffalo Gap, Fort Pierre, and Grand River.^{xxxi}

During World War II, farmers in South Dakota experienced price fluctuations similar to those seen during World War I. By 1951, however, prices returned to a profitable level. The development of a cattle-feeding industry in the 1950s in the eastern part of the state complemented the cattle raising and grazing on the Western Plains. Livestock raising accounted for seventy-nine percent of South Dakota's agricultural production in 1966.^{xxxi}

The evolution of the state's highway system throughout the twentieth century further aided the economy on the Western Plains. During the Depression, United States Highway (USH) 14 formed the major east-west route crossing the state. USH 14, also known as the Black and Yellow Trail, provided tourists with an alternate route to the popular Yellowstone National Park and also provided a means of transporting agricultural products to eastern markets. The highway proved quite popular, and the segment between Rapid City west to the Wyoming state line was upgraded from a two-lane to a four-lane road in 1953.

The passage of the Federal Highway Act in 1956 set the ambitious goal of completing an interstate highway system within fifteen years. The Federal Highway Act had its origins in the Defense Highway Act of 1941 that focused federal funds to a Strategic Network of Highways with defense uses, such as roads to military bases and defense manufacturing plants. Also near the end of World War II the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 called upon states and the Bureau of Public Roads to designate a national system of interstate highways, connecting state capitals,

principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers by direct routes. The segment of USH 14 near Rapid City, with its recent upgrade to a four-lane road, was well positioned to become part of the new interstate system and was incorporated into the system shortly after the passage of the Federal Highway Act.

USH 14, later roughly shadowed by Interstate 90, bisected the lands that would soon be dotted with Minuteman missiles. Beginning in 1961, the Air Force constructed 165 Minuteman missile installations on the Western Plains of South Dakota, directed by the 44th Strategic Missile Wing based at Ellsworth Air Force Base. Moving from east to west across the plains, Ellsworth's three squadrons were located near the towns of Wall, Union Center, and Sturgis. The squadron near Wall operated the Launch Control Facility and Launch Facility now comprising Minuteman Missile National Historic Site in Jackson and Pennington Counties. Before detailing these specific facilities, we next turn to the Air Force.



Plate 15. The gently rolling plains of western South Dakota (*Photograph by Mead & Hunt*)



Plate 16. The striking landscape of the South Dakota Badlands (*Photograph by Mead & Hunt*)



Plate 17. A western South Dakota homestead, 1936 (*Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collections, Reproduction number LC-USF34-004666-D DLC*)

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- ⁱ Edward Patrick Hogan and Erin Hogan Fouberg, *The Geography of South Dakota* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: The Center for Western Studies, 1998), 11.
- ⁱⁱ National Park Service, "Badlands National Park Information," n.d., <<http://www.badlands.national-park.com/info.htm>> (15 May 2003).
- ⁱⁱⁱ Barbara Lass, "South Dakota Prehistory," in *The Future of South Dakota's Past*, ed. Larry J. and Lucille C. Stewart Zimmerman (Vermillion, S.Dak.: University of South Dakota Archaeology Laboratory, 1981), 11.
- ^{iv} Lass, "South Dakota Prehistory," 12; "Historic Sites of South Dakota: A Guidebook," ([Vermillion, S.Dak.]: Business Research Bureau - University of South Dakota and The Historical Preservation Center, 1980), 6-8.
- ^v "Historic Sites of South Dakota: A Guidebook," 95-96; "Eastern Pennington County Memories" (Wall, S.Dak.: The American Legion Auxiliary, Carrol McDonald Unit, n.d.), 7; Paula Giese, *South Dakota Indian Tribes*, 22 March 1997, <<http://www.kstrom.net/isk/maps/dakotas/sd.html>> (23 May 2003), 1.
- ^{vi} Jay Davis, interview by Mead & Hunt, typed transcript, 6 February 2003, 8-9.
- ^{vii} Herbert S. Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota," *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 2 March 1961, sec. 4, Centennial Edition; Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961).
- ^{viii} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^{ix} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^x Allyson Brooks and Steph Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, ed. Michael Bedeau, (Vermillion, S.Dak.: South Dakota State Historical Preservation Center, 1994), 9.
- ^{xi} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota;" Schell, *History of South Dakota*.
- ^{xii} Brooks and Jacon, "Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context," 9.
- ^{xiii} Brooks and Jacon, "Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context," 9; Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^{xiv} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^{xv} "Eastern Pennington County Memories," 7.
- ^{xvi} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^{xvii} Schell, "Early Explorations to Missile Age; A History of South Dakota."
- ^{xviii} Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 9.
- ^{xix} Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 9.
- ^{xx} Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 22-23.
- ^{xxi} Bob Karolevitz and Bernie Hunhoff, *Uniquely South Dakota* (Norfolk, Va.: Donning Company, 1988), 120; "Eastern Pennington County Memories," 7.
- ^{xxii} "Eastern Pennington County Memories," 9.

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- xxiii Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 20.
- xxiv Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 21.
- xxv Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 21.
- xxvi Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 24.
- xxvii Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 24.
- xxviii Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 25.
- xxix Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 27.
- xxx Ted H. Hustead, interview by Mead & Hunt, typed transcript, 7 January 2003, 2.
- xxxi Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 10.
- xxxii Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 11.
- xxxiii Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context*, 29.